581 /139 cont./ feast, in which this purpose finds expression, and the difficulties which crop up on this occasion are the topic of the second part.

558 /140/ As a companion phenomenon, the vertical
562 tendency includes the sense of siri', that is, the sense of going down in social standing in relation to someone else. The fact that a woman must not go down in standing means that the slightest impairment of her social standing arouses the most violent reactions. There are various ways of escaping such a reaction. Marriage by flight is an example. It will be discussed extensively, among other things, in the third part of this chapter because it forms a spectacular phenomenon in Makassarese society, one that constantly leads to difficulties in the practice of administration and jurisdiction.

First Part

852 Immediately at birth a difference is made in the ritual between a boy and a girl. The parappo, the essence of the offering to be presented, differs with respect to the number of betel leaves of which it consists, depending on whether
857 it is intended for a boy (6) or for a girl (7). Children play together up to the age of eight to ten years. Informants
855 said that girls were always treated more gently than boys, for instance, that they were not beaten.

857 Not until the age of six years, so far as I was able to observe, were little boys taught that they are not allowed
867 other things than girls /sic/. Boys of that age accompany their father to the pasar; girls stay at home. Boys are sent away when young girls (tau lolo) are getting dressed and making themselves up. When little girls are naughty, they are threatened with: "I'll make you sit with the boys." Boys are not threatened with having to sit with the girls. They would find it momentarily unpleasant, so I was told, but they are freer in their movements and would therefore

857/140 cont./ be able to run away again more easily. Little
867 boys are allowed to be somewhat rowdy and boisterous during a festival, but girls are forbidden such behavior: "Are you
[262] a boy?" an older girl then snaps at her. Little girls may not eat a certain kind of fish so that later, when they are grown up, they will not become man-crazy. At various festivities
[777] they receive "pitjuru," luck-bringing /141/ charms so that when they are grown up they will marry and have many children. The sexes are sometimes separated as early as the
[871] age of seven to eight years when children go to the religious instructor (guru ngadji), where they learn to recite the Koran. Then the girls receive instruction from the guru's wife in the back of the house.

593 One of the first frustrations of children after weaning
867 is caused by adult men, especially the father. When a man enters the house, women and children withdraw to the back part of the house. When there are guests, care is taken that the children make no noise. When an important man is in the house, this rule applies even more strictly. Little children who then make noise are threatened with: "He is angry at you." An old woman repeated to a three-year-old who quietly sat next to her, "He sees you, he is looking at you." The importance of the situation was imparted in this fashion; and a certain fear as well as a certain veneration for the superior found expression in this way.

867 The difference in /social/ level between children is
554 revealed partly by what is less tolerated in one than in another. When a karaëng comes for a visit to the house of the adat community head, his little son may run around and perhaps even sit down behind his father, but the children of kinsmen and servants remain in the back rooms, and the women take care that they are quiet.

864 A little girl learns from early childhood that it is not good to show herself naked: "Where is your sarong?" she is asked. This applies to boys only one to two years later.

864 /141 cont./ Not until he is circumcised, at the age of seven to eight years, will a boy always wear a pair of pants under [304 his sarong. Adult men bathe in the nude, but in so doing 852] cover their genitals with the hand. Women keep their sarong on when they bathe. One of the first things that a Makassarese woman observed with surprise on Java was the fact that there the women bathe naked in the river. A girl always appears before her mother with her sarong. Young girls do tease each other at the well, "almost," when a sarong almost slips down. But if the sarong had really slipped off, the other would have denied this and would not have [576] spoken about it any further. This is how a girl knows her friends. Only those who do not like her would talk about it to others and make her ashamed (siri').

857 Children play "marriage." They put on rags and cloths. /142/ One of them is the bride's mother and helps the others, and they make sand cakes. The children may begin to quarrel and the matter often ends by a girl getting a shove or a blow which hurts so that she cries and runs away angrily. Sexual activities were definitely not observed. When an almost three-year-old boy was asked: "Why don't you play bridegroom" (buntimmako), he closed his eyes and stood motionless. The picture of the bridegroom, but above all, that of the bride, who, dressed in her most beautiful clothes, remains seated motionless for hours on end with cast-down eyes, had made the strongest impression on this three-year-old.

857 Boys and girls tend to play together up to the age of eight 858 to ten years so long as it works out. Up to that age girls 867 are also allowed to run around freely in the yard. But even before the appearance of puberty the separation is intensified. Boys learn that they must sit still and be quiet when the old 858 men speak. "After all, you are no longer a little child," 867 they are told. Around the same time, thus long before the

858 /142 cont./ first menstruation, the girls are "caged"
867 (nikappara'); the separation from the other sex is thereby completed. From now on she is also subject to the many restrictions in social relations which obtain between men and women in general and between unmarried men and women in particular. "She is already staying at home" (ammantammi ri balla') is an indication of the age of a girl when she is around ten years old. At this time she enters
[291] the group of women, where she belongs to the young girls (tau lolo), who are also called "the red jackets" (badju' edja), after the conspicuous red jacket of slightly transparent material which they wear.

867 She learns that she must withdraw at the arrival of male visitors, that she may not be conspicuous, and that she must lower her voice. The girl who enters the front room (kale balla') even though there are guests is told off with a disapproving "she dares." A girl who talked loudly was
[864] angrily asked: "Who do you want to hear your voice?" If a girl shows her desire for a man by being conspicuous and by talking loudly, she is considered late (man-crazy), one of the most undesirable qualities in a girl.

857 A young girl only leaves the house in the company
867 of older women. Little excursions are holidays for her. She dresses carefully for these occasions; she makes herself up, blackens her eyebrows and the hairline on her forehead,
855 /143/ and powders her face. The older women guard and protect her. In their presence a young girl is safe. If she is alone at home or in the yard and a man enters the yard accidentally, a dangerous situation is created because this
[626] encounter, regardless of the intention of both parties, is considered a breach of established forms of social intercourse. If a neighbor woman were to see and talk about it, so that the girl's brother hears of it, the latter would feel siri' and act accordingly.

858 /143 cont./ Boys seem to go through a difficult period
867 at the age of approximately eleven to fourteen years. Before that, despite small differences from the girls, they were considered to be children, and as such they quite naturally stayed in the women's rooms. But around the age of ten to eleven, the older women make it plain to them that they
561 no longer belong there. Compared to women, however, men
562 have less unity. For them the difference in age plays a much more important role. It prevents the smooth interaction between older and younger men, because the older expect
561 obedience and a certain respect from the younger. The young
855 boys therefore find no unity in the group of men which makes
858 them feel at home. At the same time they do not possess the sexual maturity to participate in the boasting conversations about conquests and sexual achievements that are customary in the circle of young men. They are physically not yet strong enough to participate in brawls and great work schemes, and therefore they cannot talk about their exploits. They do not count among the fifteen- to eighteen-year-olds. At the same time these twelve-year-old boys have not yet had much opportunity to associate with each other. So they first look for their age mates. They roam around, they are little noticed, and they don't feel at home anywhere.

Division of Labor

462 The domain of the women is house and yard. There they cook, wash, weave, and take care of the children. They leave the house only to pay visits or to run over to neighbors, who are also the closest kinsmen. When male visitors arrive they withdraw into the back part of the house. There is the kitchen; there they have their own separate
462 entrance. One could regard the women as a group whose
476 members /144/ help each other with daily household problems,

627 /218 cont./ Only when after some searching they cannot find
684 a trace do they return home one after the other.

The women, tied as they are to the house, must wait to
[562] see how the pursuit develops. Among them there prevails an atmosphere of fear, which remains until a report has been received that the couple has reached the house of a neighboring kampong functionary. The older women meanwhile tell
538 stories about former flights and about the miserable lot of
867 a girl who was captured and killed. They describe how lonesome the girl who has fled must feel now, far away from her mother, her sisters, and cousins, among totally strange people, /219/ without the cozy companionship around her to which she was accustomed. Her mistakes are elaborated upon: by fleeing she has caused great sadness to her mother; she should have waited until the older people, who have her best interests at heart, had arranged her marriage. She longed too much for a man. She was not the still, modest girl that she should have been. These are all so many lessons for the listening children and young girls.

588 A few days after the flight, when the first excitement has died down, the head to whom they fled leads the couple to the religious official charged with the registration of marriages. The formalities that are prescribed by Moslem law now raise a few difficulties. The wife's wali must give his consent to the marriage. Officially, he never wants to do that because the woman, frequently his daughter, made him
[626 siri', and he is therefore unable to recognize any tie with her
558] without exposing himself to contempt, especially that of the younger men. In practice it is assumed that he has given his consent when he says to the imam's helper who has come to speak with him about this affair: "Do with her what you like." This is regarded as an authorization to the person who performs the marriage ceremony, the imam, to appear as wali in his place.

105 /239 cont./ the vertical tendency is strong, and integration is either not present at all or else in a very weak form. In kin groups like that of the adat community head, that of the kapala and that of Mangenre, the striving for integration is time and again interrupted through oppositional striving. The vertical tendency and thus, at the same time, the disintegration of the group can best be observed among the prominent members.

In a kin group where an ornament is present, integration can always be more clearly shown than in one where the ornament is absent. Kin groups lacking an ornament seem incapable of forming a power center of significance. Stability, on the other hand, is found only where the vertical articulation is fixed. The vertical tendency inherent in the /240/ kin groups constantly has as a consequence the renewed disintegration of these groups.

262 South Celebes is a land with a large surface, in relation to its population, suited to wet rice cultivation. If the rice harvest has failed, maize is available to take its place. There seems to be no fear of a threatening food shortage among the Makassarese and Buginese.

855 Small children are well cared for over a long period of time by their mothers and female housemates. By the same token, there seems to be no fear of receiving insufficient care.

867 155 One of the first things a young person learns is the fact that he is restricted in his movements and that he must be quiet when a man, even his father, is present in the house. Upon the arrival of a male guest the women and children withdraw from the front room, and the children are reprimanded if they make noise. This happens to a greater degree when a higher person comes to the house. Here are the first frustrations for the children (1).

1:Chabot--328 E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

155 /240 cont./ 1. For the ideas followed
●867 here, see A. Kardiner, The Individual and His Society, fourth edition, New York, 1947, pp. 21 ff.

554 Among the men of between fifteen and thirty-five years
571 of age, one finds constant striving to outdo another.
578 Each contemporary of the same or of almost the same descent is a potential opponent for them in their striving to rise. However, a two-fold brake affects the realization of this striving.

In the first place, the social forms with respect to members of the same /nuclear/ family toward a higher and toward an older person are highly formalized. As soon as the restraints here applied are removed, a strong aggression finds expression. Men who drink at a feast avoid the higher people who are present there. When the young adat community head came to my house one evening drunk, he spoke in an angry tone about nothing but the failings of his father and the obstacles that the latter was always putting in his way.

The stiff relationship to the older male housemates brings with it the fact that the young men prefer to wander around outside.

521 In the second place, there are restrictions with regard
554 to the /241/ institutions in which the striving to outdo another
576 finds expression. Boasting about the splendor of a festival in one's group of relatives is done as a matter of course, but
[685] a man may not brag about his possessions, his sawahs, cattle, and valuables. He must be modestly silent about them. The theft of cattle is a frequent phenomenon; it is a form of outdoing another. But the theft of other goods practically does not occur. If it does, it is regarded as a despicable deed.

554 Each act of outdoing, large or small, imagined or real,
571 has as a consequence that the other feels his social standing